

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3490

S E C R E T MADRID 7618

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, SS, SP

SUBJ: SPANISH SAHARA - MESSAGE FOR THE SECRETARY  
FROM FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA

REF : STATE 258841

1. CORTINA HAS JUST CALLED ME TO REQUEST THAT I PASS TO THE  
SECRETARY THE FOLLOWING.

2. GOS HAS TRIED THROUGH ALL POSSIBLE MEANS TO REACH AGREEMENT  
WITH MOROCCO. WHEN "GREEN MARCH" ANNOUNCED, GOS HAD ENDEAVORED  
TO FIND WAYS TO REMOVE THIS POINT OF FRICTION. HOWEVER, MOROCCANS  
INSISTED THAT SUBSTANCE OF SAHARA PROBLEM MUST BE RESOLVED ALONG  
LINES DESIRED BY MOROCCO AND MAINTAINED "GREEN MARCH" NOT  
NEGOTIABLE.

3. MOROCCANS HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES IMPOSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH SINCE  
THEIR IDEA OF NEGOTIATION IS THAT OTHER SIDE MUST ACCEPT MOROCCAN  
DEMANDS OR NO AGREEMENT POSSIBLE. GOS HAS EXHAUSTED ITS  
POSSIBILITIES.

4. GOS HAS NOW RECEIVED INFORMATION WHICH IT CONSIDERS ACCURATE  
THAT AMONGST "GREEN MARCHERS" THERE ARE 25,000 MEN WHO ARE  
MEMBERS OF ROYAL MOROCCAN ARMY AND WHO HAVE THEIR WEAPONS  
CONCEALED. THIS GROUP CONSTITUTES A "TROJAN HORSE" AND GOS IS  
CONVINCED THAT ONCE ACROSS SAHARAN BORDER THESE SOLDIERS WILL  
THEN TAKE UP THEIR ARMS AND MILITARY INVASION WILL BE ON.

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5. GOS HAS ALREADY INFORMED SECURITY COUNCIL THAT SPANISH ARMED FORCES IN SAHARA HAVE BEEN GIVEN ORDERS TO RESIST ANY EFFORTS TO INVADE THE TERRITORY. HASSAN IS PLAYING WITH HIS THRONE BY USING SAHARA TO DISTRACT MOROCCAN PUBLIC OPINION FROM DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, SPAIN DOES NOT INTEND TO PAY FOR HASSAN'S ERRORS.

6. CORTINA BELIEVES US CAN PLAY A MOST IMPORTANT ROLE IN MAKING HASSAN UNDERSTAND THAT ROUTE HE IS FOLLOWING IS NOT THE ONE WHICH WILL GET HIM WHAT HE WANTS. IT WILL ONLY RADICALIZE PROBLEM AND PRODUCE A CONFLICT WE ALL WANT TO AVOID.

7. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, PARTICULARLY ONE SHORTLY TO BE ADOPTED, CAN PROVIDE COVER FOR DEMARCHE TO HASSAN. PERHAPS US COULD STRESS AGAIN THAT ARMAMENTS WHICH US HAS PROVIDED TO HASSAN ARE FOR FIGHT AGAINST COMMON ENEMY, BUT NOT FOR A FIGHT WHICH WILL INVOLVE WESTERN COUNTRIES. THUS, WHILE SECURITY COUNCIL MAY HAVE ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS, EACH COUNTRY SHOULD BE ABLE TO INTERPRET TO HASSAN ITS VIEWS ON HOW BEST TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES OF THESE RESOLUTIONS WHICH, QUITE CORRECTLY, HAVE NOT PUSHED HASSAN TO WALL BY CONDEMNING MOROCCO. HE WAS CONVINCED NEW RESOLUTION BY ITSELF WOULD HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ON RABAT. CORTINA GAVE ME TO UNDERSTAND THAT HE WOULD ALSO BE APPROACHING FRENCH AND ITALIANS TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS IN RABAT.

8. CORTINA SAID GRAVE URGENCY OF PROBLEM LIES IN FACT THAT "GREEN MARCH" WITH ITS "TROJAN HORSE" IS DUE TO CROSS INTO SAHARA ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4. HE APPEALED TO SECRETARY TO DO WHATEVER HE CAN TO AVOID THE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES WHICH WILL BE INEVITABLE IF THE MARCH PROCEEDS. HE CONCLUDED BY REPEATING TWO POINTS: A) AS HE HAD PROMISED SECRETARY, GOS HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE, BUT HAD NOW EXHAUSTED ITS POSSIBILITIES; AND B) "GREEN MARCH" IS NOTHING MORE THAN A COVER TO PLACE THE MOROCCAN ARMY IN THE SAHARA AND THUS TO INVADE THIS TERRITORY MILITARILY.

9. I TOLD CORTINA THAT I WOULD PASS ABOVE IMMEDIATELY TO DEPARTMENT. I ALSO TOLD HIM THAT I HAD TRIED UNCUCCESSFULLY TO REACH HIM YESTERDAY TO PASS ON CONTENTS OF REFTEL. CORTINA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THESE EFFORTS , BUT REPEATED HE PLACED GREAT  
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CONFIDENCE IN WHAT SECRETARY MIGHT STILL BE ABLE TO DO TO HELP AT THIS MOST DANGEROUS MOMENT.  
STABLER

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## Message Attributes

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